1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

192 (Hora-nui), April (Hora), June (Maro), July (Anakena). He was unable
805 to obtain other names.

According to Thomson (215, p. 546) and present natives, Anakena was the first month of the year. Thomson translates Anakena as August and suggests that the year began at that time because Hotu-matua landed at Anakena in that month, but my informants and Roussel (190) give Anakena as July. The fact that the ancient year commenced with July is very significant. The Maori dated the commencement of the year by the first moon after the rising of the Pleiades, which occurs in June in the southern hemisphere. The first two months of the year in Mangareva also seem to have been June and July and had some connection with the rising of the Pleiades (Matariki). (See 28, p. 413.)

Ora or Hora seems to have been the name of the warm season during trade winds (*ora*: zephyr, light wind). The trade winds become more regular in November and reach maximum regularity in February. The word *ora* cannot account for Hora-iti and Hora-nui, the terms given for August and September which are cold winter months. The name Hora-nui, given by Roussel to March, is possibly due to confusion. The term for winter is Tonga (Southern Wind).

Sun and Stars

Common expressions are *ka hiti te raa* and *ngaro raa* or *raa topa* (the sun is rising or setting). Dawn is termed *huero*, which is probably a modern word; according to my informant, the old term was *uraura*, which also applied to the color of the sky at sunset. Other terms for periods of the day (*raa*) are: morning (*popohanga*), early morning about 3 a.m. (*te ao popohanga*), dawn (*te he mai te ata*), sunrise (*he otea, kumaehaa*), noon (*raa tini, raa too*), evening (*ahiahi*), night (*po*). The expression for yesterday is *angataiahi*; for the day before yesterday, *angatai-ahi atu* or *angatai-ahi era*. Tomorrow is *apo* and the day after tomorrow is *apo-era*.

192 The sun or moon in eclipse is *ku kai a te raa* or *ku kai a te mahina* (the
821 sun being eaten, the moon being eaten). Present natives do not remember who eats the moon or the sun. Tepano suggested that it was the demon Katiki or Puakatiki but did not seem sure of it. He suggested also that the moon could be devoured by the sun.

Stars are termed *hetuu*; very luminous ones, *hetuu pupura*. Falling stars are *hetuu rere*; comets, *hetuu huero* or *huero*.

821 Near ahu Okahu on the west coast there is a small cave called Ana-ui-
192 hetuu (The-cave-where-stars-were-seen). According to tradition this place
787 was an observatory where priests watched the stars and a school where candidates for priesthood were instructed in the science of the stars. The principal duty of these priests was to put people on guard against the evil influence of

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Matamea (Mars), Tautoru (The Belt of Orion), and Pau, a star which appears in October or November. The appearance of these three stars in October foretold death and evil. Fishermen were in danger of being caught by fabulous sharks (*niuhi*). Everyone had to behave properly lest a member of his family should disappear. At the end of the month, the priests climbed a tower (*tupa*) near the ahu and from there they announced to the crowd that the position of the stars had changed and that henceforth they could do no harm. Matamea and Tautoru were "bad" stars but Pau was sometimes bad and sometimes good. Reitanga is the name for Sirius. Near ahu Hihinatangi-kotea there are six boulders whose form and position are said to represent the Pleiades (Matariki) and to have been put there by Tuu-ko-ihu, the culture hero, to remind people that the Pleiades are sometimes dangerous and can bring death.

An obscure tradition connects Matamea (Mars) with the raising of certain crops. A tapu was observed as long as this star did not appear in the sky.

Routledge (194, p. 235) mentions an observatory on Poike:

> On the extremity of the eastern headland there is an outcrop of boulders, one of which is incised with a spiral design; the place is known as "Ko Te Papa-ui-hetuu", or "The Rock-for-seeing-stars" and here the old men came to watch the constellations. About two hundred yards from these boulders there is another engraved stone on which ten cup-shaped depressions are visible; this represented, it is said, "a map of the stars."

The natives did not show me this place and never mentioned it in discussions. Artificial depressions in rows or files are very frequent near the ancient settlements. Various natives interpret them differently as drops of rain, enemies slain by a famous warrior, tattooing marks, and so on.

Routledge (194, p. 235) gives the legend of the children changed into stars as the only nature myth she obtained on Easter Island. It was introduced recently by Tahitians and does not refer, as she suggests, to Orion but to 3° Scorpio or Scorpii. The Tahitian origin of the myth is well remembered by the natives, who told it to me as follows:

> A woman went to a place where there was a feast. She saw the feast and came back with her children. Her husband saw that she was not at home and stayed to watch when she would come back. When the wife came, he asked her, "Where are you coming from?" "I come from the feast with the children." "Who told you to go to the feast?" She answered: "I went there by myself."
>
> The man beat the woman, he hurt her, and she fled with the children to the sky and remained fastened there. The man shouted, "E pipiri ma, come back." "No, we shall not return; we shall stay here forever."

Routledge (194, p. 235) gives a slightly different version in which the woman was carried off by a stranger. The husband slew her, and she fled to the sky and was changed into a star. The husband took their two boys and followed her to the sky, " . . . where the three form the belt of Orion."

This myth is very popular in Tahiti and from there has spread to the

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

843 firstlings), and was perpetuated long after the natives were converted to
431 Christianity. After the food was removed, the pit of the oven was carefully filled in so that no rats could get into it, for if any food scraps were taken by a rat, the child would die. The father of the pregnant woman could make an earth oven and present it to the husband's relatives, but this gift had no ceremonial value.

DELIVERY

844 Before delivery a black stone was heated in an open fire, wrapped in bulrushes, and put under the parturient. This practice was supposed to stimulate labor pains (121, pp. 659-660). My informants did not give any information about this custom.

A woman in labor delivers in a squatting position. She kneels on the floor, reclining against her husband, who assumes the same position behind her. The husband or some other person assists the parturient by holding her under her armpits and massaging her stomach with both hands crossed on the navel region. Relatives and friends gather in the house to comfort the woman.

At the moment of delivery the man who ties the navel cord (*tangata hahau pito*) is called in. The tying of the navel cord is sacred and must be performed according to ritual (pp. 64-65). At the present time only five persons on the island know how to bind the navel; they are Juan Tepano, Mateo Beriberi, Timoteo Pakarati, Santiago Pakarati, and Leon Rahoroa. The first knot (*hahau a te matau*, string of the right) is tied after the string has made transverse turns around the navel cord passing from left to right. After three more transverse turns passing from right to left, the second knot (*hahau patu mauí*, string of the left) is tied. These knots keep the child's strength in his body. The navel cord is cut by a boy or girl (*kope* or *vie nagi pito*, young man or woman who bites the navel), who cuts with the teeth or an
[465] obsidian knife—formerly they preferred to bite it. The cord cutter was paid with fowls and sweet potatoes. Sometimes he received a young cock which he could not kill lest the strength of the new-born child be destroyed. He could give the cock to a foreigner, but usually it was allowed to die with age.
● [787] Generally the cord cutter must tell what he dreamed the night before. If he saw cows or stars it was a favorable sign for the child. Anything related to the skies was a good sign, but falling stars or any falling thing was believed
[845] to portend ill-luck. Modern Easter Islanders retain this belief in the significance of omens. The word *topa-tini* is used for children that are born by breech presentation.

846 Most ceremonial customs dealing with disposal of the umbilical cord have become obsolete. In ancient times the wound was smeared with red ocher (*kiea*) from a place called Te Tiamo, near Poike. Sometimes the umbilical cord and placenta were put into a calabash and taken to the shore by the

l: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

764 Twenty years ago Routledge (194, p. 149) assisted in the interment of
177 Angata, Pakomio's mother, who was put into a coffin and lowered into a grave in the Catholic cemetery. Curiously enough her prie-dieu was buried with her. Three English cheers added the only odd touch to the whole ceremony which was performed according to strictest Catholic custom. On the same day, a great feast of pigs was held, probably as a funeral banquet.

765 From the English Company I obtained an old photograph showing a group of girls, dressed in white, singing for the dead. My informant, Victoria Rapahango, told me later that the picture was taken at a feast held six months after the death of one of her children. The long period between the death and the feast suggests a survival of some old custom.

769 Offerings of food were made for the dead, but we do not know whether
● 787 this was a general custom for all dead or only for those who asked for food through the medium of dreams or in the form of ghosts. Our only source
775 of information is the following passage in a letter of Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 120):

> As to the souls of the bad men, they stay near the corpses enduring hunger and thirst in proportion to their wickedness. From there they sometimes go to beg food from their relatives and friends who must give it if they wish to be rid of the importunity of the dead. I had many opportunities to fight against this superstition, especially among women who had been converted. Very often, as a consequence of a nightmare, they were induced to put food on the grave of a relative they believed they had seen in a dream.

765 The mourning of relatives lasts from one to two years (87, p. 30) or
262 even three years, according to Routledge (194, p. 171). For only sons the mourning might have continued for three or four years. Relatives—we do not know exactly who—had to keep food tapus and were not allowed to eat sweet potatoes (87, p. 30). When the mourning was over a great feast was celebrated and the "pappa was finished" (194, p. 171).

Comparison with other Polynesian Funeral Rites

191 The wooden platforms on which the corpses were exposed resemble the
764 Mangarevan biers described and figured by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 170). They are also similar to the Marquesan biers resting on four posts (142, p. 57). The stone platforms behind some Easter Island ahus have their equivalents in the Marquesas. On Hivaoa the platform for the dead was made of stream boulders, well fitted together and encasing rough stones, rubble, and earth (104, p. 117).

SUICIDE

762 Suicide is reported to have been very frequent before Christianity was
152 introduced. For the "slightest provocation" natives jumped from a cliff (190, p. 464). Very likely the psychological background for these suicides was the same as in other parts of Polynesia, especially Mangareva, where it seems to

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

643 to Roussel (190, p. 358) kings, who in the beginning were considered deities and had absolute power on the island, did not retain such authority for long but kept only the prestige of a supernatural power and certain personal privileges. The political power of the king was slight, at least during the last period of Easter Island history; his exalted position rested mainly on the religious beliefs of the natives, and his functions, although limited, had a strong bearing upon the magico-economic structure of the island culture. (For a detailed discussion of the functions of Easter Island kingship, see Métraux, The kings of Easter Island: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 46, pp. 41-62, 1937.)

POSSESSION OF DIVINE MANA

643 773 778 The *ariki-mau* or king of Easter Island was a divine chief who had mana (supernatural power) and was therefore surrounded by tapus; as a member of the Honga lineage of the Miru tribe he was descended from the gods Tangaroa and Rongo. (See genealogy, p. 127.) The following legend shows how a king with an oversupply of mana might bring calamity to his people:

The king Nga-ara slept with three wives, all of whom became pregnant and gave birth to sons. The first two sons had no mana but the third son, Rokoroko-te-tau, mysteriously possessed it. The people brought flower wreaths and standards for Rokoroko-he-tau whom they considered king. Sharks and seals came to the island and chased and ate the people, and white fowls appeared. These three things, together with a white feather diadem, manifested the power of Rokoroko-he-tau. Nga-ara was afraid that the sharks and seals would kill all the people, so he stole Rokoroko-he-tau during the night and hid him near the Rano-aroi and later killed him. The sharks, seals, and white fowls disappeared, never to return.

This brief legend emphasizes the extreme importance of mana; in spite of the tradition that succession to title went to the eldest son, the first two sons of Nga-ara were disregarded because they had no mana, and the third son, who possessed it, was considered king. Throughout Polynesia the birth [787] of the divine chief was often associated with many portents and wonders, but in this tale the phenomena which accompanied the king's birth were emanations from his mana and were the cause of his destruction.

Another legend, strange and incomprehensible in its present form, deals with the mana of the king and of his miraculous birth. Although there is no way of knowing whether this tale refers to a legendary king with great mana or to the son of the god Tangaroa, it contributes to a better understanding of the various aspects of a king's personality.

Tangaroa and his brother went to the beach at Hangavee one night. After catching some fish they went on to Huareva and to Akahanga. At Anavaero Tangaroa copulated with a hen which he saw sitting on a stone. The two brothers continued to Hanga-nui, where they fished, and to Vaimangaro where they bathed in the sea. There Tangaroa killed the hen, plucked it, and put it in a basin. Both returned to Tuu-tapu. An old woman from Hanga-nui went to the well at Vaimangaro. There she heard a child crying from inside the stomach of the hen in the basin. She took the child to her home, cared

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

These spirits were sometimes amiable and well disposed toward certain men. Natives told both Routledge (194, p. 237) and me of a man whose spirit dug his potato field for him every night. Magicians, especially sorcerers, were served by spirits who were their familiars. The servant-spirits would enter a man whom their master wished to kill or would leave their victim if ordered to do so. They would unveil the future, and foretell the issue of wars or the results of the annual egg races at Orongo.

Probably most of the spirits were mischievous and fond of playing tricks on men. Routledge believes that they were kind or harmful depending upon whether or not they were well fed. However, offerings of food were probably made only to well-known gods or to spirits having distinct personalities. Probably the tempers of the minor demons were unaffected by the conduct of men toward them.

The name *akuaku*, now used indiscriminately for lesser gods and spirits, must have meant originally only ghosts or spirits of the dead, although it is not found elsewhere in Polynesia with this meaning. Desmedt (59, p. 135) considers the Easter Island term *akuaku* cognate with the Mangarevan *akuaku*, which means "thin, speaking only of men and women." This parallel is supported by the Easter Island idea in which ghosts resemble emaciated men.

Akuaku entered the *niuhi* which were ferocious, half-legendary sharks or other dangerous sea animals. In this form they killed people. My informant probably rationalized this old belief by telling me that only bad men were prey of shark-spirits. The *akuaku* also caused diseases and were expelled by priests to save their patients.

Spirits of the dead had all the features of the living, but they were emaciated, had protruding bones, and their bowels could be seen in their sunken abdomens. In a word, they were prototypes of the famous wooden images of Easter Island. Such was the appearance of the two *akuaku* whose images and culture hero Tuu-ko-ihu fixed forever in wood (p. 260). Such is still the aspect of the dead when they manifest themselves in dreams. A girl whom we knew well told us that in a nightmare she had seen her grandfather nodding to her. When he turned his face toward her, she noticed that he was half-rotted and that his bowels, in an advanced state of putrefaction, were visible.

Ghosts were especially terrifying and Roussel (190, p. 495) writes: "They seemed to fear very much the haunting souls. Very often they came for me to drive away these malignant spirits of their fathers or mothers who frightened them and tore at their bowels." Even now the *akuaku* interfere in the daily life of Easter Islanders. A girl who was attending our camp and who had been to the well to draw water came back shivering and white, telling us that an *akuaku* had taken the pail she had left on the edge of the

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

539 If the end of the chant were not so garbled, it might give a hint as to its practical
773 value and the circumstances in which it was recited. The last verse stresses the im-
776 portance of the yam (*uhi*) and sweet potato (*kumara*), which were the staple foods of the island.

PRIESTS

793 Our knowledge of the nature and organization of the priesthood is so slight and so confused that no clear distinction may be made between the high priests and the ordinary magicians or sorcerers. It is not possible to ascertain whether the ancient priesthood was always loosely organized or whether the original institutions were forgotten after the Peruvian raid of 1862 which crushed the native civilization of the island.

Undoubtedly the gods were attended by priests, although Geiseler (87, p. 33) and Routledge (194, p. 239) declare there were no priests, and Thomson (215, p. 470) affirms that native priests were simply wizards and sorcerers. However, Roussel (190, p. 360), our best authority on Easter Island, says: "There were priests and priestesses. Their functions were reduced to very few things: to preside at the rejoicings on the occasion of the birth of a child and to drive away the bad spirits of a sick man." Priests also composed and recited chants in honor of the dead. Such limited activity does not tally with the exalted social position of the priests; according to Roussel they were next in rank after the king.

793 We have already seen (p. 312) that Makemake manifested his will through
●787 male and female priests. These servants of the gods were inspired by the deity who entered their bodies and spoke through their mouths. The offerings
782 of chickens, fish, and sweet potatoes were received by these priests, who also demanded human sacrifices. This information, although scant, shows that on Easter Island the power and duties of the priests did not differ very much from the general Polynesian pattern.

793 My informants and those of Routledge always attributed the performance of the religious and magic rites to the *ariki-paka*, who were noblemen of the Miru tribe (p. 129). While it is very likely that the chief priests were recruited from the royal or aristocratic families, it is doubtful that all the *ariki-paka* were fit for these functions.

171 The close association between nobility and priesthood is a common feature
793 in Polynesian culture, many instances of which have been recorded on other islands. The tapus surrounding the *ariki* were, in many respects, analogous to those of the priests. The sacredness of kingship and nobility linked the *ariki* very closely with ceremonial life. A hint of the priestly nature of certain *ariki* functions is to be found in a statement made by Geiseler (87, p. 33) on the authority of Salmon: "In early days when the kings enjoyed important power and respect, they functioned as priests and they started and they led the religious festivities."

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

The term *ivi-atua* (lineage of the gods) is interpreted by the present population as magician or sorcerer, and they use the same word for a charm or a spell. The *koromaki* (the one who violently desires something) were also in the category of priests. Usually the word *koromaki* was followed by the mention of the thing wanted, as rain, fish, and so on. These *koromaki* were expert in casting spells and had the power to kill enemies or to benefit people who resorted to them. Apparently their function was similar to that of the *ivi-atua*. Here again is manifest the tendency to represent all the ancient priests as wizards.

In Mangareva the general term for priest is *taura*; Laval gives it as *tahura*. The name *tahura* on Easter Island is applied to the servants of the king, but as *tahura* may also mean "expert", the fact that the king's attendants were *tahura* does not imply that they were priests.

Divine Possession

It is evident from the allusions of the missionaries that in Easter Island, as in all of Polynesia, the gods were supposed to take possession of the priests and to use them as mediums between themselves and the people. The present natives remember that when a priest was possessed by a god, he spoke in a shrill, high-pitched voice. In the legend of the young men who pretended to be Makemake, it is said that " . . . they made their voice like that of a god (*hakaatua i te reo*)." The word used in Easter Island, as in most of Polynesia, to mean possession by a god was the verb *uru* (to penetrate, to enter). To express the action of the priest Uru-a-rei, who tried to exterminate the Miru by means of religious rites, my informant used the word *uru* and translated it "to make sorcery." The story tells that the priest was dizzy because he turned round and round (*miniro*) in order to make his *uru*.

Sorcerers

Sorcery seems to have been practiced on Easter Island to much the same extent and in much the same manner as on other Polynesian islands. Inspirational priests (*ivi-atua*) or sorcerers (*tangata taku*) had at their service familiar spirits through whom they cured or killed people or accomplished difficult tasks (p. 319). There were numerous charms connected with every action. There was even a spell to make people hurry.

A person who wanted to get rid of an enemy called in a sorcerer, to whom he presented food cooked especially for the purpose. The magician dug a hole in the ground and in it he buried a white cock with head turned down. The place was trodden upon, and after a few days the cock's death was followed by that of the person against whom the magic rite was directed. Such procedure was known as *taku mo mate* (charm for death). This typical prac-

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

754 tice of black magic has its counterpart in white magic in the *taku mo ora* (charm for life) which was performed by an old man to prolong some person's life. I was told that, according to the rules of sympathetic magic, the cock whose death provoked that of a man could be eaten by the sorcerer, but the desired effect would be postponed.

The usual way to exert a supernatural influence or to facilitate any activity was to pronounce a spell (*tarotaro*). A native, Charli Teao, gave a sentence which he claimed was a spell to make someone ill: "Ka oho, ka uru ki roto ki te kokoma manava—ka taviri, ka tavara" (May it go, enter the intestines, the bowels—he is staggering, he is falling). When asked what thing or person was to enter the victim, the informant said that the formula alluded to signs on the tablets. Every sign was supposedly endowed with magical power and a sort of independent existence which made possible the sending of one sign (*rona*) when need of it was felt. The animal or object represented by the sign acted according to the will of the enchanter. This statement must be accepted with great caution, as the man who made it is young and could not have known very much of the past. But it is not unlikely that the signs of the tablets were credited with supernatural virtue after the real significance of the tablets was forgotten. At any rate, the association of the symbols on the tablets with "devils" who have independent activities and personalities throws some light on the primitive conceptions regarding magic on Easter Island.

A curse pronounced by a priest was expected to have an immediate effect and consequently was greatly feared. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 71) aroused violent feeling among the natives and was almost considered an evil sorcerer for having said to a chief, Torometi, "You shall die." As soon as these words were uttered, Torometi was struck as by lightning. He was seized with violent shaking and his features and gestures expressed anger and terror. The audience was greatly agitated and everyone shouted, "The Father said: E pohe oe!" The missionary had no intention of cursing him but only wanted to remind him that he was mortal and should fear another life in which he was [578] to pay for his sins. Natives resent as a deadly insult the expression *vai hakari* (body full of water) which they explained is the equivalent of a curse. It is applied only to people who have beautiful fields or are proficient in some activity. Such people are said to die young.

OMENS

●787 Dreams occupy in the imagination of the present natives the same place as they had formerly. The islanders are convinced that most dreams are significant and that they foretell future events. When looking for antiquities, the natives attributed great importance to any hint that they obtained in their sleep. Most of their dreams at the end of the year are concerned with the

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

coming of the Company ship or of the *Baquedano*. Winds and the mewing of cats are considered bad omens. A frigate bird (*makohe*) circling over a house foretells death for one of the inhabitants.

TAPU

The persistence of the fear of tapus and of the precautions taken against infringing them indicates the importance of tapu in ancient religion and social organization. The violation of a tapu was an insult that could be avenged only with bloodshed. In fact, the missionaries found that the tapu belief was the only strong religious conviction against which they had to fight. They vitiated the power of the tapus by walking over sacred ground and pulling down tapu signs (230, vol. 6, p. 129). The most daring of the natives who were devoted to the missionaries did the same with no ill effects. An anecdote reported by Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 130) reveals the earnestness with which the natives observed the tapus and the psychological effects produced by the sense of guilt after trespassing:

> The tapu affected several kinds of food and particularly a big fish called kahi, that is caught only during the four summer months. The eating of this fish was especially prohibited to women and children: some disease would have been the punishment of their audacity. In order to destroy this superstition we used to eat kahi in the presence of the people, but this was not a successful argument since the natives considered us as being tapu. Therefore after having given the example we would encourage the spectators to imitate us. To distract their minds from the fear that might have made them sick, we tried to amuse them in several ways. This method was very efficient. However, once they came to tell us that at the Pupuranga there was a boy, a Christian, called Reone (Leon) who was feeling very ill after having eaten kahi. I went to see him and I found him seized with convulsions. But, instead of taking his illness seriously, I made fun of him and twitted him with his ridiculous superstition. The other children laughed with me, then I told him to go play with them. He did as told and recovered.

Scattered throughout the island may still be seen tapu signs consisting of small piles of stone "like balls in a park of artillery" (130, vol. 1. p. 79). Originally the top stones were painted white, but this has been washed off by rains (pl. 3, *C*). Such tapu signs, called *pipi hereko*, were noted by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 296), La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 70), Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 225), Geiseler (87, p. 28), and other more recent visitors, though it is not always certain whether they refer in their descriptions to the tapu signs or to the semi-pyramidal ahus. Routledge (194, p. 232) believed that these cairns were memorials to the dead and that the tapu for the dead extended to them. However the cairns were the ordinary symbols for any tapu. Isolated cairns may have indicated boundaries of spots defiled by some impurity or sanctified by the mana of a chief or priest.

Modern natives feel the sacred significance of the piles of stone and remember that they were erected to put the surrounding land under an interdict

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

796 by a continuous round of festivities and banquets. Possibly a certain significance is to be attached to the statement by Gana (86, p. 33) that while the
786 people were gathered at Orongo "the men and the women appeared entirely
535 naked in public dances, making indecent and immoral gestures." If this is
831 true we may suppose that erotic dances were performed at Orongo as in the Marquesas, in order to favor fertility in nature.

266 The name of Mataveri is associated in the minds of the natives with can-
796 nibal meals. Both Routledge and I were told that the *mata-toa* (warriors) who gathered at Mataveri, both before and after the principal feast at Orongo, were then more prone than at any other time to indulge in human flesh. Quite
532 near Mataveri is a cave called Cave-of-the-cannibal, Ana-kai-tangata, where tradition says that the victims were devoured. On the vault of this cave are painted birds and Routledge saw the sketch, now crumbled away, of a European boat.

796 In January (according to Routledge, July) all or part of the people who had been in Mataveri ascended to the stone village of Orongo by way of a
● 787 special path which still exists and is called "the road of the ao." Generally the contestants in the race were named by priests (*ivi-atua*) who had dreamed that a certain *mata-toa* would become a bird-man (*tangata-manu*). After the race a disappointed contestant might accuse the priest who had named him as bird-man of being a liar or he might hopefully defer his prophesied victory to a later year or to one of his descendants.

796 Generally the actual search for the first *manu-tara* egg was entrusted to men called *hopu* who supposedly acted as servants of the contestants. Usually each competitor sent only one *hopu*. However, instances are recorded of one *hopu* serving two employers and of one contender having two *hopu*. Both Routledge and Tepano say that there might be more than one bird-man. Probably there was one supreme bird-man and several supernumeraries whose *hopu* had found eggs after the first one. In the race held four years before the custom was abandoned, four tribes took part and there were ten winners. Two *hopu* had two employers each, while three contestants hunted their own eggs, one acting also for another man. Routledge regards this as a sign of decadence. However, so little is known about the cult that it is dangerous to speak of degenerate forms in reference to it. Tepano was quite firm in his statement that the competitors themselves sometimes looked for the eggs. The early missionaries and travelers who described the egg race were of the opinion that the candidates to the title acted on their own account and that it was their courage or their skill which was rewarded. Thomson's (215, p. 483) version may have some validity:

> The race for the distinguished honor of bearing the first egg was an occasion of intense excitement. The contestants were held in check at Orongo until the auspicious moment arrived, and the scramble commenced at the word "go" pronounced by the king.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

574 345 expense of a man wishing to enhance his prestige by a show of lavishness. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, pp. 66-67) describes the *areouti* as follows:

> The *paina* is succeeded by the *areouti*, in which there are no more big races, no complicated evolutions, and no palatable sweet potato banquets. On the grounds of the feast are built big houses, I should say huts higher than the ordinary ones. When the houses are finished, people gather in groups, placing themselves in two lines to sing. And what they sing! I must confess that this poetry is very primitive and not very varied. The event which has most struck the imagination is generally the subject of the chant. If a new disease has been introduced, let us say smallpox, it will be sung at the *areouti*. On the occasion of one of these feasts, they took my sheep and roasted and ate them. The roasted sheep have been sung about for I know not how long. Please do not think that they compose a poem for the occasion. They are well satisfied with repeating, in different tones, the matter itself, sometimes the name which expresses it. This continues from the beginning of the feast to the end.

Puke

574 222 This feast has not been recorded previously. According to my informant, it was always celebrated in the month of August (*horaiti*). Five children went to the shore to pick up *tari* (a seaweed). My informant insisted that each child took ten seaweeds, but such precision may be doubted. The children started to run as fast as they could, and adults tried to hit them with the [787] seaweed collected by the children. A child who was hit by the *tari* was supposedly destined for a premature death, those who escaped without having been touched by the seaweed could expect a long life. The *puke* were organized by the entire village and were occasions for feasting.

Kaunga

574 535 The *kaunga* was a feast reserved for young people and its chief feature was a dance performed by boys and girls on a narrow place paved with pebbles. Routledge (194, p. 234) claims to have seen four such strips; I saw only one, but Tepano mentioned two, one at Vakahipo and the other at Hangoteo. The young people danced in Indian file, each girl preceded by a boy. The dancers held dancing clubs (*rapa*) in both hands and advanced and retreated gracefully. When a father decided to have a *kaunga* dance performed, all the other families sent their children. The parents sat as mere spectators of the dance.

574 I never heard, as did Routledge (194, p. 284), that this feast was in honor of a mother. The *kaunga* feast has been frequently confused with the seclusion of young people for the purpose of producing fair complexions before being exhibited at feasts. However, the feast was probably an opportunity for the *neru* or the *huru* girls (those who had been secluded) to display the whiteness of their complexions. Marriages were frequently decided upon at this feast.

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

listening for the birds"; here men kept watch day and night for news from the islet below.

The privilege of obtaining the first egg was a matter of competition between members of the Mata-toa, but the right to be one of the competitors was secured only by supernatural means. An "iviatua," a divinely-gifted individual, dreamed that a certain man was favoured by the gods, so that if he entered for the race he would be a winner, or, in technical parlance, become a bird-man or "tangata manu"; it was also ordained that he should then take a new name, which formed part of the revelation, and this bird-name was given to the year in which victory was achieved, thus forming an easily remembered system of chronology. The nomination might be taken up at once or not for many years; and if not used by the original nominee it might descend to his son or grandson; one case was mentioned where a young man who was victorious passed on the honours to an older relative. If a man did not win he might try again or "say that the iviatua was a liar" and retire from the contest. Women were never nominated, but the iviatua might be male or female and, needless to say, was rewarded with presents of food. There were four gods, or "atua," connected with the eggs—Hawa-tuu-take-take, called "chief of the eggs," and Make-make, who were male deities; also Vié Hoa, the wife of Hawa, and Vié Kenatea, who were females; each of these four had a servant whose names were given and who were also supernatural beings. Two iviatua "called themselves after Hawa and Make-make" respectively, but this seems to have been exceptional. Those going to take the eggs recited the names of the gods before meat, inviting them to partake. The actual competitors were men of importance and spent their time with the rest of the Ao at the village of Orongo; they selected servants to represent them and await the coming of the birds in less comfortable quarters in the islet below.

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

These men, who were known as "hopu," went to the islet when the Ao went up to Orongo or possibly rather later. Each made up his provisions into a "pora," or securely bound bundle of reeds, he then swam on the top of the packet, holding it with one arm and propelling himself with the remaining arm and both legs. An incantation, which was recited to us, was said by him before starting. In one instance, the iviatua, at the same time that he gave the nomination, prophesied that the year that it was taken up a man should be eaten by a large fish; the original recipient never availed himself of it, but on his deathbed told his son of the prophecy. The son, Kilimuti, undeterred by it, entered for the race and sent two men to the islet; one of them started to swim there with his pora but was never heard of again, and it was naturally said that the prophecy had been fulfilled. Kilimuti wasted no regret over the eventuality, obtained another servant and secured the egg; he died while the Expedition was on the island. The islet of Motu Nui is, as its name signifies, the largest, and is also the outermost of the three islets which lie off the coast of Rano Kao. It can only be reached in fine weather, and even then it is no easy matter to gain the particular ledge of rock where landing has to be made on the crest of a wave before the sea again retreats boiling and surging many feet below. Once landed, however, the surface is comparatively level and presents no difficulties. It is about five acres in extent and is covered by coarse grass which almost conceals the entrance to the cave in which the hopu lived while awaiting the coming of the birds; the inside however is light and airy; it measures nineteen feet by thirteen, with a height of over five feet, and conspicuous among other carvings in the centre of the wall is a large ao more than seven feet in length. A line dividing the islet between Kotuu and Motu-iti passed through the centre of the cave, and the hopu are said to have formerly kept to their respective

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

of whom Viriamo was one. The group of houses at the end among the carved rocks was taboo during the festival, for they were inhabited by the rongo-rongo men, the western half being apportioned to the experts from Hotu Iti, the eastern to those from Kotuu. "They chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that was all." They came at the command of Ngaara, but it is noteworthy that he himself never appeared at Orongo, though he sometimes paid a friendly call at Mataveri.

A short way down the cliff immediately below Orongo is a cave known as "Haka-rongo-manu," or "listening for the birds"; here men kept watch day and night for news from the islet below.

The privilege of obtaining the first egg was a matter of competition between members of the Ao, but the right to be one of the competitors was secured only by supernatural means. An "ivi-atua," a divinely gifted individual, of the kind who had the gift of prophecy, dreamed that a certain man was favoured by the gods, so that if he entered for the race he would be a winner, or, in technical parlance, become a bird-man, or "tangata-manu." The victor, on being successful, was ordered to take a new name, which formed part of the revelation, and this bird-name was given to the year in which victory was achieved, thus forming an easily remembered system of chronology. The nomination might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson. If a man did not win, he might try again, or say that "the ivi-atua was a liar," and retire from the contest. Women were never nominated, but the ivi-atua might be male or female, and, needless to say, was rewarded with presents of food. There were four "gods" connected with the eggs—Hawa-tuu-take-take, who was "chief of the eggs," and Make-make, both of whom were males; there were also two females, Vie Hoa, the wife of Hawa, and Vie Kenatea. Each of these four had a servant, whose names were given, and who were also supernatural beings. Those going to take the eggs recited the names of the gods before meat, inviting them to partake.

The actual competitors were men of importance, and spent their time with the remainder of the Ao in the stone houses of the village of Orongo; they selected servants to represent them and await the coming of the birds in less comfortable quarters in the islet below. These men, who were known as

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"hopu," went to the islet when the Ao went up to Orongo, or possibly rather later. Each made up his provisions into a "pora," or securely bound bundle of reeds; he then swam on the top of the packet, holding it with one arm and propelling himself with the remaining arm and both legs. An incantation, which was recited to us, was said by him before starting. In one instance, the ivi-atua, at the same time that he gave the nomination, prophesied that the year that it was taken up a man should be eaten by a large fish. The original recipient never availed himself of it, but on his death-bed told his son of the prophecy. The son, Kilimuti, undeterred by it, entered for the race and sent two men to the islet; one of them started to swim there with his pora, but was never heard of again, and it was naturally said that the prophecy had been fulfilled. Kilimuti wasted no regret over the misfortune, obtained another servant, and secured the egg; he died while the Expedition was on the island.

The hopu lived together in a large cave of which the entrance is nearly concealed by grass. The inside, however, is light and airy; it measures 19 feet by 13, with a height of over 5 feet, and conspicuous among other carvings in the centre of the wall is a large ao more than 7 feet in length. A line dividing the islet between Kotuu and Hotu Iti passed through the centre of the cave, and also through another cave nearer the edge of the islet; in this latter there was at one time a statue about 2 feet high known as Titahanga-o-te-henua, or The Boundary of the Land.[1] As bad weather might prevent fresh consignments of food during the weeks of waiting, the men carefully dried on the rocks the skins of the bananas and potatoes which they had brought with them, to be consumed in case of necessity. It was added with a touch appreciated by those acquainted with Easter Island, that, if the man who thus practised foresight was not careful, others who had no food would steal it when he was not looking.

The approach of the manu-tara can be heard for miles, for their cry is their marked peculiarity, and the noise during nesting is said to be deafening; one incised drawing of the bird shows

[1] This statue was removed to the mainland shortly before our arrival, and we were able to procure it in exchange for one of the yacht blankets. It is now at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (fig. 111).